



THE ARCHITECT
OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

BY
KARL KADER

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KARL RADEK

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LECTURE IX

FELLOW CO-OPERATORS;^{*}

My last lecture ended at the point when the world was shocked by the news of the premature demise of our great teacher and leader,

^{*} All modes of address in the period of the struggle for socialism bore traces of the commodity system of production and even of preceding systems of society: the Russian word for "comrade," i.e., "tovarishch" originates from the word "tovar" (commodity); the German word "Genosse" comes from the word "geniessen" which means enjoying things in common; the English and French word "comrade" originates from the word meaning "room-mate." In the period of the final victory of socialism these words dropped out of use and the word "co-operator" from the Latin word "cooperare," meaning to "create collectively," came into use in their stead. (The Russian synonym employed by the author is "sotvoret," from the Russian word "tvorit," i.e., "to create."—Tr.)

In the period of the Second International the word "co-operator" seemed to smack of commercialism; its adoption as a term of address in the present period restored to it the meaning attached to it by the great utopian socialist, Robert Owen, who put forward the program of organizing the joint labour of the workers as a means of overcoming capitalism.

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Lenin; at the point when, on the shoulders of his friends, his last remains were carried through a vast assembly of people to the Hall of Columns* which for many days was the place of pilgrimage of the workers and peasants of our great country and of the whole world. The air still rang with the echo of the words seemingly hewn out of granite pronounced by the General Secretary of our Party, Stalin, in the Grand Theatre, vowing that the Party would remain true to Lenin's bequest to fight against capitalism, vowing that this struggle would be carried on to its victorious end by relying on the solidarity of the international proletariat, on the alliance between the workers and peasants, by strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and by guarding the unity of the Leninist ranks like the apple of the eye.

The news of Lenin's death called forth a mass influx of workers into the ranks of the Party. The proletariat wanted by a collective effort, by the work of millions of brains and

* The main hall in the House of Trade Unions in Moscow where Lenin lay in state.—*Tr.*

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hearts to compensate for the great brain that had ceased to create and the great heart that had ceased to beat.

In the ranks of the world bourgeoisie the death of Lenin called forth rejoicing. The bourgeoisie did not understand the significance of the Party that was created by Lenin, it did not believe that from among Lenin's disciples a leader would arise who would be able to combine the daring of a great rebel with the cool calculation of the mathematician. No other revolution had produced a new leader of history to take the place of the one who was killed, or died. The place vacated by the leader was filled by miserable epigones. The bourgeoisie did not understand that this was the result of the bourgeois character of preceding revolutions. Bourgeois revolutions achieved their goal in the brief period of action of a single historical generation. The place of heroic fighters was taken by hucksters who converted the great historical achievements into small change. The world communist revolution demands for its final victory the heroic exploits of many generations of

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fighters. Hence, by rousing one stratum of the proletariat after another for the struggle, it brings to the front detachment after detachment of great leaders.

The bourgeoisie would not, and could not, permit the thought of a victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. It hoped that the New Economic Policy would by its contradictions disintegrate the proletarian Party, that on the soil of this disintegration conflicts would arise among the leaders, and that the sword raised by Lenin against world capital would be broken. But it was mistaken. The post-Lenin period was the period of the building of socialist society in the U.S.S.R., the period of its victorious defence against the attacks of a number of imperialist powers, and of the victory of socialism in a number of countries.

Today we will deal with the first decade that followed the death of Lenin, a decade in which the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. and its Leninist Party under the leadership of Stalin built the foundations of socialist economy and equipped the proletariat for the great

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international battles that finally consolidated the victory of socialism.

Today, half a century after these decisive events in the history of mankind occurred, everything seems to be so simple and taken for granted. Rosa Luxemburg said that nothing seemed to be so impossible as a revolution which had not yet been victorious and nothing seems to be so simple and intelligible as a revolution which has achieved victory.

You might ask: what is there that is wonderful in the fact that after having overthrown the bourgeoisie, after having defended the Soviet state against intervention, having in the main restored industry and agriculture to the pre-war level, that the Soviet proletariat built the foundations of socialism? What other task could they have undertaken?

Perhaps you will say: the fulfilment of this task was certainly a great historical exploit; but it did not call for anything qualitatively new either from the proletariat or from its leaders.

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But this would be a fundamental mistake which must be eliminated in order to understand the greatness of the Stalin period; the period of the building of the socialist society, in order to understand the greatness of the work performed by the proletariat in those years, and in order to understand the historical greatness of Lenin's successor, Joseph Stalin.

It is true that the Stalin period was firmly planted on the shoulders of the Lenin period, that it was its continuation. Stalin was the executor of the will of Lenin; he did not wish to be, nor could he be anything else; for Lenin created a program to cover the whole epoch of the overthrow of capitalism and the building of socialism. But in order to execute Lenin's will, Stalin and our Party had to adopt independent decisions which were as daring as Lenin's decisions; they had independently to develop the teachings of Lenin in the same way as Lenin developed the teachings of Marx. The Soviet proletariat had once again to soar on the wings of great

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enthusiasm to the heights of October, and still more strongly fan the flames of the world conflagration.

SOCIALISM—TO BE OR NOT TO BE

During the World War, Lenin in the autumn of 1916, in an article entitled *The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution*, wrote:

"The development of capitalism proceeds very unevenly in the various countries. This cannot be otherwise under the system of commodity production. It inevitably follows from this that socialism cannot be victorious simultaneously in *all* countries. It will be victorious first in one or several countries, while the others will for some time remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois. This must not only create friction, but a striving on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the victorious proletariat in the socialist state. Under such conditions a war on our part would be a legitimate and just war." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, "The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution.")

Lenin left no doubt as to what he meant by the victory of socialism in a single country. By that he did not mean *only* the capture of power by the proletariat. Urging the neces-

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sity for a victory of socialism in a single country, he wrote in another place:

"The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organized its own socialist production, would rise *against* the rest of the capitalist world, attract to itself the oppressed classes of other countries, raise revolts among them against the capitalists, and, in the event of necessity, come out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their states." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, "The United States of Europe Slogan," p. 272.)

According to Lenin the victory of socialism meant the organization of socialist society. That the organization of socialist production was possible in the U.S.S.R., that neither the cultural backwardness of the country nor the predominance of the peasant population in it were insuperable obstacles to this, Lenin proved with powerful force in the last articles he wrote before his death in which he declared that the U.S.S.R. had "all that was necessary and sufficient for the building of socialism."

But in spite of these unambiguous utterances of Lenin, the question of the possibility of building socialism became the centre of a

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struggle that shook the Party after Lenin's death. Lenin's thesis was disputed by Trotsky, who was formerly a Menshevik, and who, when he joined the Bolshevik Party, actually remained a semi-Menshevik who regarded the proletarian revolution in Russia only as a transient situation which would disappear unless the victorious western proletariat hastened to its assistance. Trotsky based his arguments on the typically Second International point of view, which he had already expressed at the Second Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1903, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the rule of the organized proletariat representing *the majority of the nation*. According to Trotsky, in so far as the proletariat would have to rely only upon its own strength, the dictatorship of the proletariat in a country in which the proletariat did not represent the majority of the population could only be an historical episode. There is nothing surprising in the fact therefore, that he held the opinion that the proletarian dictatorship could not set itself the task of building a socialist society.

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Then there was Radek, who was a follower of Rosa Luxemburg. To him the building of socialism in a single country seemed as ridiculous as the idea of a benevolent provincial governor introducing liberalism in a single county in tsarist Russia, an idea that was ridiculed by the writer, Shehedrin. He based his argument on a schematic conception of the internationalism of the labour movement, on the idea that the separate national units of this movement could not independently solve the fundamental problems of the proletarian revolution because they were too weak, severally, compared with international capital. In the same way as in Shehedrin's story, tsarism "discovered" and destroyed the provincial hotbed of liberalism, so, thought Radek, international capital would inevitably destroy the hotbed of socialism in the U.S.S.R. unless the international revolution hastened to its assistance.

But even Zimoviev and Kamenev, who regarded themselves as the trustees of Lenin's will—although they fought against him in the decisive October days—failed to under-

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stand that the possibility of building socialism in a single country was the Archimedes' point in Lenin's strategic plan. What was really the core of Lenin's plan they thought was an invention of Stalin, and they regarded the plan on which Lenin had built up his strategy of the international victory of socialism as the abandonment of the international tasks of the October Revolution.

The Opposition to Stalin, who unfurled the Leninist standard of building socialism as a task of the October Revolution, advanced the most varied arguments which served, perhaps, to screen from itself the real character of its position. As a matter of fact it was an echo of the Second International and of its disbelief in socialism. This question deserves our special attention because it is here that the greatness of Stalin as the successor to Marx and Lenin, his greatness as a theoretician of Marxism-Leninism, and as the leader of the proletarian revolution are revealed; and it is here that the greatness of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the instrument of the victory of socialism manifests itself.

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Prior to 1917, the international proletariat had not yet entered into the *direct* struggle for the seizure of power and for the achievement of socialism. Right up to October, all the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat had been only attempts to transfer the democratic revolutions to the rails of the struggle for socialism; they were historical vanguard battles. These attempts did not achieve victory for the proletariat. The Second International did not even succeed in preserving the memory of these great heroic attempts and in making them living sources of belief in socialism. In the hands of the leaders of the Second International the banner of socialism served as a screen for the struggle for the improvement of the conditions of the aristocracy of labour, for their struggle to enter the world of bourgeois culture. Needless to say, every rascal who wanted to rise on the shoulders of the masses of the people to the government pigtrough, waved the flag of either "Radical," "Christian" or "Reformist" socialism—names which in many countries

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became a screen for simply deceiving the masses.

But were the "sincere" and "honest" leaders of the Second International who, while swearing by socialism, did not prepare the working class for the proletarian revolution, very far removed from this conception of socialism? By failing to prepare the workers for the revolutionary struggle, by failing to teach them the revolutionary strategy of Marx, they proved that for them, socialism was a remote "island of utopia," at best, an object of dreams that might come true after centuries. The Kautskys and Guesdes looked down with contempt upon pettifogging reformism and on the careerists who dreamed of ministerial posts; but as a matter of fact they were bone of their bone, because the real struggle for socialism was equally alien to them. The Russian Mensheviks sneered at the European reformists; but they themselves proved to be merely hangers-on of the bourgeoisie, its vanguard in the struggle against the proletariat. Arguing that the cultural backwardness of Russia did not permit of the victory of the

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socialist revolution, which, they said, was possible only in the lands of developed capitalism, they kept repeating one thing, and one thing alone: "You will not get any further than a bourgeois republic with reformist Ministers." When history bluntly put the question of socialism throughout the whole of Europe, the leaders of the Second International even in those countries which the Russian Mensheviks regarded as being ripe for socialism, proved to be ripe only for counter-revolution. The real historical mission of the Dans, the Martovs, the Adlers, the Bauers, the Scheidemanns and Kautskys proved to be the same: they were "fighters" for crumbs from the table of the bourgeoisie.

In the final analysis, the idea that it was impossible to build socialism in Russia was a screen for petty bourgeois disbelief in socialism as a historically mature and practically soluble problem. By trying to "prove" to international imperialism which was preparing for an attack on the U.S.S.R. that the victorious proletariat of the first socialist country was doomed by history to "pound

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water in a mortar," that it was incapable of overcoming its class enemies within the country, Trotsky actually revealed the nature of his own position, viz., that, notwithstanding all the "Left" phrases he uttered, his position did not differ in any way from the position of the Dans and the Scheidemanns. Like the whole of the Second International, the Menshevik Trotsky capitulated before imperialism. On the threshold of the second round of revolutions and wars he reported to international capital: your reign is yet firm; socialism is a utopia.

The opposition to Lenin's idea—which he advanced as far back as 1902 in his debate with Plekhanov when he said that the proletariat could achieve victory even if it was in the minority, provided it succeeded in supporting the proletarian revolution by a peasant war—the opposition to the possibility of building socialism in a single country was the result of disbelief in the possibility of a victorious socialist revolution at that historical stage. If, as the Trotskyists argued at that time, the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. was un-

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able to build socialism, and in the West the revolutionary forces were only just taking shape, then the logical conclusion to be drawn from that was: the hour of the socialist revolution had not yet struck.

That section of the Bolsheviks which declared that the Stalinist program of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. was a Stalinist invention, a utopia, and even the abandonment of the international tasks of the revolution, in reality declared that capitalism was an unexpired stage even in the U.S.S.R.; in reality they proposed that the building of socialism be abandoned. While ostensibly advocating internationalism, they really proposed that the Soviet proletariat should abandon its international duty, viz., to assist the birth of the international proletarian revolution by victorious socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., by building up a classless socialist society. The Opposition surrendered the right of priority of the Soviet proletariat as the pioneer of socialism and proposed that the difficult task of building socialism be taken up by the "elder brothers."

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By that the Opposition rejected the very essence of the Leninist Party; for unlike all the parties of the Second International, the Bolshevik Party was created by Lenin for the fight for socialism. It did not forget the socialist tasks in the period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, which it regarded merely as a stage in the struggle for socialism. Lenin's Party—the pioneer of the international proletarian revolution—could not follow the lead of those who represented in its ranks the survivals of the prejudices of the Second International. The Party followed the lead of Stalin and his comrades-in-arms, because, raising the question of realizing Lenin's teachings on the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R., he continued the cause for which Lenin created the Party. Stalin became the leader of the Party because he waged the struggle for continuing the cause of Lenin. Having captured power and having successfully defended it against intervention, and after recuperating its strength, the proletariat had to set to work to build a classless society. Having, thanks to Marx, developed from

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a utopia to science, socialism under the leadership of Lenin led the proletariat in the struggle for power. Having taken power, and consolidating it economically, the proletariat under the leadership of Stalin proceeded to achieve socialism.

Stalin worked out and developed Lenin's doctrine of the uneven development of capitalism as a premise for his doctrine of the possibility of building socialism in a single country. This alone would be sufficient grounds on which to base the historical significance of Stalin as Lenin's successor. But to his great service in working out Lenin's strategical plan Stalin added another, viz., he carried out Lenin's strategical plan in great historical battles. By that he not only led the proletariat in the fight for the fulfilment of, so to speak, the national tasks of the October Revolution, but he built up the socialist fortress of the international proletariat to facilitate the international victory of socialism. That is how Stalin became the great architect of socialism.

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Before proceeding to describe the struggles for the application of Lenin's plan which have forever combined the name of Stalin with that of Lenin, we must, if only briefly, explain why, after the death of Lenin, it was precisely Stalin whom history called upon to take the helm and steer the proud ship of Lenin through storm and stress.

A SWORD FORGED IN THE FIRE OF REVOLUTION

It is very difficult to establish the concrete personal origins of great historical men; how can we explain why the son of a Simbirsk school inspector and of a doctor's daughter was able to rouse the Russian proletariat in revolt against international imperialism and become the standard bearer of the international socialist revolution? Notwithstanding the great strides made by science in communist society, it cannot yet answer the problem of personality. It can only reveal the social conditions which nurtured the leader, who, like a pillar of fire, marched in front of mankind and lighted up the way.

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The social conditions which made Stalin the man whose name is inscribed in the history of the emancipation of the working class can be summed up by saying that he more than any other disciple of Lenin was cast in the mould of Lenin's Party, was bone of its bone and blood of its blood.

A son of poverty who rebelled against the slavery of an ecclesiastical seminary, who from his early youth eagerly devoted himself to the study of the algebra of revolution, who grasped the fact that its principal driving force, its only leader, could be the proletariat, he, in petty bourgeois Georgia, set to work to organize the workers and break them away from the various petty bourgeois groups who came forward not only under the banner of socialism but even under the banner of Marxism. There were very few industrial workers in Georgia, relatively fewer even than in Russia; and the task of securing for them the leadership of the revolution seemed utopian. But Stalin, having assimilated the profound teaching of Marx that the proletariat was the demiurge of history, devoted

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all his efforts to this task, for he realized that only the fulfilment of this task could guarantee the victory of the revolution. The fulfilment of this task called for uncompromising struggle against opportunism. And young Stalin became steeled in the tireless struggle against the scores of shades of the petty bourgeois movement—from anarchism, nationalist "socialism" to menshevism. This school of his youth left ineradicable traces upon him. From that time onwards, one of the fundamental features of Stalin as a leader was his indomitableness in solving fundamental problems. Having found the real solution of a problem he fought for that solution with tremendous persistence, no matter how difficult it may have been. And no "rainbow" perspectives of easy victories along other paths which did not guarantee a complete solution could divert him from his main task. The second feature that he acquired in those first battles in Georgia was his great vigilance in regard to opportunism. No matter how cleverly opportunism may have disguised itself, no matter what coloured cloak it may

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have donned to clothe its miserable body, Stalin was able to see the opportunistic reality beneath it and give it ruthless battle. With these results of his first "socialist accumulation" to which he later made considerable additions, Stalin began to organize the Baku proletariat. At this point he took a decisive step forward in his development.

Before him was a huge industrial centre, one of those gigantic reservoirs of proletarian strength which subsequently was to blow up tsarism and capitalism. But the Baku proletariat was torn by national strife and culturally was incredibly backward. But Stalin was not daunted by this. If the Baku proletariat was torn by national strife it could be united by leading it in the joint struggle for common interests; and in this struggle the Turkomen worker could be taught to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Armenian worker and to trust him as a comrade. If the Baku proletariat was culturally backward, then the struggle against tsarism and capitalism would rouse in it a tremendous spiritual energy, it would create in it a thirst for knowledge—

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which is a condition of victory. If the Tiflis railwaymen represented a small force, and in the eyes of Stalin represented something in the nature of a symbol of the proletariat, then participation in the battles of the Baku proletariat gave Stalin a real insight into the mighty ocean of power which the working class represented.

In Black Town, the town of poverty, of Asiatic exploitation and national strife, in the town teeming with tens of thousands of the slaves of capitalism, Stalin's iron faith in the working class was forged and enabled him to undertake the gigantic task of building socialism in a backward country. Stalin's motto in life became: forge out of this crude iron a sword with which to conquer capitalism. In Baku he learned how to organize workers torn by national strife into a united army of the fighting proletariat. There he learned independently to understand the national question as Lenin alone understood it, and there also he learned to become the leader not only of the proletariat in Russia, but also the leader of the Russian, Turkoman, Armenian and

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Persian workers, the future leader—of the united proletariat of the U.S.S.R.

In Baku, Stalin, the leader of the *international* proletariat was born; for Baku is on the border of Europe and Asia. Baku was a centre of international capital imports, a centre of operations of the Nobels, the Rothschilds, the Deterdings and the Urquharts—the sharks of international finance capital, who stretched their tentacles across the Caucasus into Turkey and Persia. It was there that the Persian and Turkish peasants streamed, it was there the Armenian poor fled from Asia Minor and frightfully exploited, learned the ABC of the revolutionary struggle from the Russian workers. In organizing these masses Stalin saw the international role of the Russian proletariat which had adopted the revolutionary doctrines of Marx in order to pass them on from the West to the East.

Steeled in the battles in this great turbulent centre of revolution, repeatedly overhauling his experience in the quiet of the prison cell, testing his revolutionary stamina under the blows of soldiers' rifle butts, Stalin, in the

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period of the Stolypin reaction, emerged on the all-Russian and international arena. He took his place in the front ranks of the disciples of Lenin in the fight to preserve the revolutionary aims of the proletariat when Menshevism threw away its revolutionary mask and passed from propaganda in favour of alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie to propaganda in favour of the labour aristocracy adapting itself to tsarism. A split with opportunism, organizational dissociation from it as a condition for the preservation of the revolutionary core of the proletariat and of its future victory—this is what Stalin fought for unswervingly throughout the whole of this black period of reaction. Theoretically working out the national problem, he surpassed the boundaries of the direct experience he accumulated in Russia and not only gave battle to the Georgian federalists, the Mensheviks and the Bundists, but exposed the then rising stars of the Second International, viz., Otto Bauer and Reinher, and revealed in a crystal clear analysis the opportunists concealed behind the mask of Marxism. Then

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Stalin was discovered by Lenin and from that moment became his closest comrade-in-arms.

Repeatedly torn from his leading posts in the growing Bolshevik movement by the tsarist police, repeatedly sent to prison and long terms of exile, he more than any other of Lenin's disciples became merged with the fundamental cadres who in the underground and legal organizations built the Leninist Party. At illegal gatherings, conferences and meetings of the active *Pravda* workers, in conferences with the workers' unit which had been elected to the tsarist Duma, on the benches in the exiles' prisons and in quiet nightly conversations while under convoy, he tested all the links of the Party, felt for the places that were sound and those that were rusty, studied the quality of each brick that was later to go into the building of the Soviet government. And when, in his lonely exile in remote Turukhansk, he heard, amidst the distant booming of the guns in the imperialist war thousands of miles away, the collapse of the Second International, Stalin felt neither

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alarm nor doubt. The inevitable was happening. The tottering edifice of the Second International corroded by opportunism had crumbled. But a revolutionary proletariat existed and also a Party that was able to organize it; it would create a new revolutionary International.

Stalin was liberated by the February Revolution and after taking his hearings in the situation, after making himself familiar with the enormous amount of work that had been carried on in Lenin's laboratory from which he had been separated for so many years, he, with imperturbable coolness began, shoulder to shoulder with his great teacher, to take up the task of organizing the Party of the working class for the fight for victory. This imperturbable coolness did not leave him for a single moment. When the question arose as to whether after the July days, Lenin should surrender to the "court" of petty bourgeois democracy, Stalin, after a conversation with Chkheidze, said: "We are not going to hand the old man over to those butchers." The proletarian leader was able to see through

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Chkheidze's mask of democratic phrases and discerned the heart of the executioner; but the senile Russian bourgeoisie's executioner did not frighten him. And at the secret Sixth Congress of the Party, at the moment when the Caliphs-for-an-hour were celebrating their victory, he openly proclaimed the building of socialist society as the goal of the impending revolution. And this was not a mere phrase that was to serve as a plaster for the wounds of the persecuted Party. In his polemics with Preobrazhensky, Stalin developed the system of ideas that lay at the basis of his development of Lenin's theory of the building of socialism in a single country.

In the pre-October days and in the October days, those who in the period of exile had been closer to the teacher, and who, one would think, had greater opportunities than Stalin for obtaining an insight into the treasury of Lenin's mind, wavered; but Stalin steadfastly stood with the teacher; for he had studied Leninism not only from Lenin's books, but also from the sources of Lenin's teachings while building the Leninist Party and lead-

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ing the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat.

During the years of the October Revolution, Stalin not only worked at General Headquarters of the revolution, but most often in the fighting line. When Moscow was threatened with the noose of famine he obtained bread. When the ring of hostile forces threatened to close around Tsaritsin, he organized the forces for resistance. When danger threatened Petrograd, he was there to inspect the bastions. He did not see the revolution through communiqués; he looked it straight in the face. He saw its grand flights and he saw its very depths. And in this, side by side with the revolution, Stalin completed his final development as a leader of the revolution.

He travelled the country from Baku to Petrograd and from Smolensk to Turukhansk. He led the movement of millions of workers and peasants. He organized the Party from below; he organized the Red Army from below. He was one of the founders of the Party, and under his supervision and his leadership, hundreds of thousands of new Party

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members obtained their first experience of revolution. He led its battles at times when victory caused the heart to palpitate and filled the sails of hope. He did not become intoxicated with success. He guided the revolution in moments of defeat and retreat, when fear clutched the hearts even of the brave. In such moments he remained imperturbably calm; he knew that the day of victory would come; he knew whence it would come, and during the period of retreat he prepared for the coming victories.

If we survey the road Stalin travelled up to the time when after Lenin's death the Party placed him at the helm, we will get an answer to the question as to why he of all persons came to the head of the Party which was destined by history to build socialist society in the U.S.S.R. and to assist the international proletariat in its final struggle for victory.

Stalin grew up in the battles in which the Party took shape and conquered, and he independently led it on very responsible sectors of its front. He was the personifica-

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tion of the whole historical experience of the Party. For him, the theories of Marx and Lenin were not merely theories learned from books; the books merely generalized his own experience of life which was part of the life of the fighting proletariat.

This is precisely the reason why Stalin was able to use Marxism-Leninism not only to solve the enormous new problems that confronted the proletariat in economics (industrialization and collectivization), not only to guide complicated diplomatic changes, or to give mature counsel to brother Parties, and not only to anticipate the tendencies of development of military affairs, but also to take the initiative in deciding the tendency of our philosophy and literature. In his hands Marxism-Leninism proved to be not only a means of analysing the fundamental phenomena of the epoch of the decline of capitalism and the creation of socialism, of the epoch of tremendous contradictions which swept everyone who did not sufficiently command the dialectics of Marx off his feet, but also a means of leading great revolutionary battles.

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This fearless leadership, which was simultaneously cautious and audacious, was the highest test of Stalin as the great theoretician and statesman of the proletariat.

These two qualities of Stalin are inseparably linked up with a third quality which determined his role as a leader in the period of the construction of socialism. It was precisely because he was the best representative of "creative Marxism," to repeat the words he uttered at the Sixth Congress of the Party, precisely because his Marxism was the result, not only of the profound study of Marx and Lenin, but also of the tests of this doctrine by the tremendous experience of direct leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat that Stalin, more than any of the other disciples of Lenin, became merged with the Party, with the main cadres. In order to lead the struggle of the proletariat in general, and of the proletariat which had captured power in particular, it is not sufficient to be able to see the trend of historical development, to understand the driving forces and to know which are the decisive stages of

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the struggle. Generally speaking, it is not enough to know; one must be able to organize the struggle for historically necessary aims, *i.e.*, to create an organization for the struggle, to place the masses of the fighters at the decisive sectors of the front, and to give them the most suitable leaders. It was the combination of this distinct, farsighted, Marxian-Leninist thought with this most intimate connection with the main cadres of the Party which led the revolution, that created the leader of the revolution who could take the place of Lenin.

Political leaders occupy their place in a party and in history, not because they are elected, not because they are appointed; although in a democratic party like the Communist Party of the Soviet Union one had to be elected or appointed in order to occupy the place of leader. The leader of the proletariat is determined in the struggle for the fighting line of the Party, for organizing its impending battles. And Stalin, who even while Lenin was alive was one of the front rank leaders of the Party, became its recog-

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nized and beloved leader as a result of the outcome of many years of internal Party struggle which were of enormous significance from the point of view of principle. This struggle raged around two questions, viz., whether Marxism-Leninism was the only integral strategy that guaranteed the victory of the proletariat, and whether the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R. was possible. The struggle around these questions, which filled four years of the history of the Party, was waged by Stalin on the highest plane of principle. It was in this struggle that he developed Lenin's teachings and defended them with indomitable energy. In this struggle, which in the opinion of the world bourgeoisie should have split the Party, Stalin rallied around himself, not only the main cadres of the Party who had travelled the whole historical road of Bolshevism, but also the millions of new members of the Party. This struggle did more to spread the teachings of Lenin than scores of years of propaganda. The whole Party and the whole country saw a clearly marked road, and they saw a leader

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who would lead them along this road to victory.

This was the content of the four years of the internal Party struggle which hurled from the leadership, not only Trotsky, who was alien to the nature of the Bolshevik Party, but also those elements of the old Leninist leadership who lacked a proper understanding of Leninism, and the will and audacity—under Stalin's leadership—to lead vast masses of the workers and peasants into the battle for a new and higher stage of development of the revolution. In the light of historical development, the meaning of this dramatic internal Party struggle is so clear that it is not worth while dealing with it in detail here; but at that time, it was watched with the closest attention by the international bourgeoisie and the international proletariat who realized that the fate of the first socialist revolution was at stake.

Stalin was victorious because he correctly foresaw the further progress of world history, the further collapse of imperialism, because he foresaw the great development of

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the forces of the proletariat and correctly appraised the enormous power of the Leninist Party.

The victory of the Leninist Central Committee with Stalin at its head was the prerequisite for building the foundations of socialism.

THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM

In a backward capitalist country the working class can seize power if the bourgeoisie in that country is weak and unorganized and if the working class itself is sufficiently strong and steeled in battle to lead the masses of the peasantry against the bourgeoisie. But it can build socialism only if it creates modern large-scale industry, which alone is able to provide it with the means of overcoming the economically scattered state of the peasantry, with the means of overcoming the small proprietor nature of its ally, and the means of organizing the whole economy of the country on the basis of the social ownership of the means of production. This is what Lenin taught, and this was warmly supported by Stalin as far back as 1921, when in a wonderful

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letter, he welcomed the program for the electrification of the country as the only sound basis for socialism. Throughout the whole of the first period of the New Economic Policy, he regarded the strengthening of peasant agriculture only as a means of accumulating strength for the purpose of changing over from the poor peasant nag to the automobile of big industry. But here, too, the transition from thought to deed required tremendous will, determination and imagination.

Even in the period when the first Five-Year Plan was being drawn up, the difficulties that arose on the path of industrialization already loomed large. The industrialization of a poor peasant country without the aid of foreign loans called for tremendous self-sacrifice on the part of the masses of the workers and of the peasants. It was necessary to rouse a tremendous wave of enthusiasm throughout the country. It was necessary to imbue the masses of the people with the conviction that this struggle was not in vain, that it would open the road to a new life. To rouse the proletariat to its feet, to mobilize its best

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instincts, to widen and deepen its knowledge of the paths of socialist construction, was not a difficult matter for the Leninist Party. The Party was the offspring of the revolutionary proletariat; the enthusiasm with which it accepted Stalin's great program of construction reflected the enormous potential forces that lay dormant among the masses of the industrial proletariat. Lenin's and Stalin's confidence in those forces was fully justified.

The call for self-criticism which Stalin issued to the proletariat met with a powerful response. The masses of the workers flung themselves into the task of cleaning every screw and wheel in the machine of the proletarian state with tremendous energy. The call for socialist competition and shock brigade work released a mighty flood of workers' energy, caused the great springs of proletarian initiative to well up, and showed the whole world what tremendous deeds can be accomplished by an appeal to the social interests of a powerful young class. Indeed, as if by the waving of a magician's wand, it called

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forth the same sacred passion with which the proletariat flung itself into the October battles.

As was to be expected, the situation was much more difficult in the countryside. It goes without saying that the more intelligent elements of the peasantry who were more closely connected with the proletariat, accepted the program of industrialization with enthusiasm. The broad masses of the poor and middle peasants welcomed the work of construction, and their sons were drawn towards it not merely in search of employment, but also because it opened a way out from dreary village life. But the kulaks could not but understand that industrialization would strengthen the forces of the proletariat, that it would create the premises for the liquidation of the bourgeois stratum of the rural population as a class. The kulaks not only began to resist socialist industrialization, but also began to organize that stratum of the rural population that was dependent upon them materially and spiritually for the struggle against the Soviet government, which was preparing for the battle that was to carry the country to a

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new historical stage. The kulaks represented a considerable social force. They not only represented the capitalist past of the rural districts, but also the dream of the future which the broad masses of the peasantry cherished when they dreamed of "getting on in the world." After the abolition of the big landlords, the capitalists and the merchants, the kulaks were the last hope of the remnants of the bourgeois elements in the country and outside of it, the last bulwark of the candidates for the position of the Cavaignacs who dreamed of wreaking vengeance on October. The struggle of the kulaks not only roused all the remnants of the bourgeoisie in the U.S.S.R. and the organizers of future intervention, but it found an echo even among certain strata of the Communist Party.

Classes are not separated from each other by a Chinese Wall. A party with millions of members, which achieved the October Revolution, and which, in the battles against the landlords and the capitalists, absorbed the most energetic plebeian elements of the country, could not but have in its lower ranks cer-

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tain strata that were connected with kulak ideas. The state apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship could not but absorb from the old state apparatus certain strata connected with the kulaks and the bourgeoisie, and even with the interventionists. The resistance of these elements could not but find an echo among certain sections of the Party ranks which were scared by the kulak danger. The kulak was totally different from the senile Russian bourgeoisie and landlords; they represented a stratum of the population numbering millions, able to manoeuvre and strike hard; it was a stratum that had the following of a considerable section of the rural population.

The fight against the kulaks, croaked the Right wing, will inevitably lead to a rupture with the rural population. That is why, they said, it was necessary to retard the rate of industrialization, give freedom of development to kulak farming and hope that it will "grow into socialism." The danger of Trotskyism lay in that it pursued a line for a rupture of the alliance with the middle peasants, and in this

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way played into the hands of the kulaks; by shaking the iron Leninist discipline of the Party it opened wide the gates for the kulak counter-revolution. The Right opportunists, on the other hand, presented the kulaks with a fighting slogan, and were their direct agents in the Party. While claiming to have no differences of principle with the Party and to disagree only (!) with the rate of industrialization and collectivization, the Rights proposed that the Party adopt a policy that would, in fact, have led to the restoration of capitalism. A concession to the pressure of the Rights on this question would have had the same effect as if Lenin in the October days had vacillated on the question of the uprising. And just as Lenin must have been firmly convinced of the correctness of Marx's theories in order, unhesitatingly, to adopt the decision to call for an uprising, so Stalin's determination to carry through the Five-Year Plan and to liquidate the kulaks as a class was an expression of his firm conviction that Lenin's theory that it was possible to build socialism in the U.S.S.R. was correct. Only one who had

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not adopted these theories mechanically, but who had spent scores of years in pondering over the destinies of the Soviet and world revolution, could decide to give battle to millions of kulaks notwithstanding the tremendous difficulties that he knew stood in the way.

First of all it was necessary to mobilize tens of billions of rubles, in other words, an infinite quantity of provisions, raw materials and labour. In no other period in the history of humanity except in war time, has a state collected such a huge quantity of values in such a short time. When the capitalist world saw the figures of the Five-Year Plan they thought they were faked. The capitalists could conceive of the possibility of organizing such a transfer of resources from private hands to the state only for the purposes of another war: they could not possibly imagine that this could be done voluntarily, not under the menace of guns. Stalin, the disciple of Marx—who, with his great creative imagination, could see in 1847 the marching army of labour—Stalin, the disciple of Lenin—who in

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a small *subbotnik** on the Kazan Railway was able to discern the great initiative of the proletariat—knew that a great human ant-hill would arise, and that its labours would change the face of the mountains and valleys, of the rivers and seas, of the Soviet Union. The works of the writers of that period vividly depict the infinite number of trains carrying cement, iron, coal and tarpaulin-covered machines, vividly depict the huge conglomeration of humanity on railway stations, that was streaming from the countryside to the centres of construction. These books give us a picture of the great march of the nations to socialism.

When the capitalist world learned that the Leninist Party, that Stalin, did not rest content with proclaiming the building of socialism, but had seriously set to work to build it, the bourgeoisie began to prophesy that all that would come of it was a Tower of Babel. Where will the Bolsheviks take the required

* From the word *subbota*, meaning Saturday. A *subbotnik* is voluntary labour performed gratis for some urgent public purpose after regular working time. The first of these *subbotniks* was organized on the initiative of the workers of the Kazan Railway.—Ed.

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number of skilled workers, foremen and engineers to carry out these gigantic plans? they asked. Under capitalism knowledge was the prerogative of "blue blood"; it was acquired by capitalism at great expense in order to serve Moloch. But while proclaiming that the proletariat could not possibly master science, the capitalist world was not very sure about its forecasts, and so it decided to help to transform this great construction into a Tower of Babel. At the command of the General Staffs of the world bourgeoisie, the former servants of the Russian bourgeoisie, venerable scientists and engineers whom the proletariat had allowed to work for it, began to create confusion, to draw up false plans, to create narrow passes and *cul-de-sacs* to prevent future development, and at the same time they made plans for blowing up the whole construction in the event of intervention.

"The mob defeated us in the open field by their numbers; we shall smash them with science," prophesied Palchinsky, the Chief of the General Staff of the wreckers. But the proletariat, soaring on the wings of confidence in

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its strength, saw with the eagle eye of its class vigilance the machinations of the enemy and thwarted them. The place of the wreckers was taken by young proletarian engineers who, while not yet possessing sufficient knowledge, nevertheless burned with the desire to fulfil the will of their class. The disintegration of world capitalism and the very acute crisis that prevailed in those days created opportunities for utilizing the services of thousands of foreign engineers who had been trained at the expense of the bourgeoisie and were compelled by the decay of capitalism to sell their knowledge to the victorious proletariat. But the hiring of others' brains could not solve the problem, and Stalin issued a new slogan to the proletariat: "Overtake and surpass the capitalist world in the sphere of technique." This call was the expression of the confidence in the creative powers of the proletariat that inspired Marx and Lenin when they put forward the ideal of the polytechnical school. The great pupil of great teachers, who had now himself become the teacher, not only of the Party but of all the toilers of one of the

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greatest countries in the world, caused, not only millions of proletarian children to go to school, but also adult proletarians who had passed through the school of class battles. In the name of the future of their class, in the name of socialism, they conquered in open battle, mathematics, natural science and technique and put them to the service of the cause of the emancipation of mankind from capitalism. The country not only saw a great march of nations, but also a great cultural revolution.

But it was on the boundless fields of the Soviet countryside that the socialist excavators most deeply furrowed the land of the country. The socialist builders encountered the greatest difficulties, not in the hard rocks of the mountains, not in the walls of mine-shafts, but in the soft, friable soil of the fields. Industrialization in the U.S.S.R. differed from industrialization in capitalist countries in the furious rate at which it was carried on, in the social nature of those who erected these giants of industry, and of those for whom they were erected. But in unfurl-

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ing the banner of socialist industrialization and making tremendous demands upon the vast masses of the builders, the Party really demanded only one thing of them, and that was, to fulfil the dream of their class. The industrial worker, who represented the core of these masses, always dreamed of replacing the penal servitude capitalist factories by great, well-lighted socialist factories. In a few years the enthusiasm of the industrial workers transformed the peasants who had been drawn into the work of construction.

The collectivization of agriculture implied not only a tremendous change in rural economy, but also a tremendous change in the century-old habits, views and morals of the masses of the peasantry. Before the collectivization of agriculture was introduced, the peasants carried on their husbandry in the same way as their fathers and grandfathers had done before them, and they did not believe that the townsmen who did not know the difference between wheat and rye could help them in their farming. They were brought up to believe that man was man's

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enemy, that everyone strove for himself, and if one did not watch one's neighbour he would steal one's goods. When the peasant dreamed of a better life he dreamed of a chest filled with all sorts of junk, he could hear the neighing of his own horse in the stable, and the mooing of his own fat cows in the meadow. The peasant's ideal could be summed up with the one word: "mine." These habits and these ideals had been deeply undermined by history. As a result of tsarist exploitation and the imperialist and civil wars, millions of peasants lived on a plot of land without any implements of their own; during the Civil War they had learned to act collectively; under the leadership of the proletariat; they perceived the strength of this class which once upon a time had emerged from their own peasant ranks, the class that had smashed the power of the tsars and the rich and repelled the intervention of fourteen states. They saw that this class was building up its state in alliance with them, and it was this class that called upon them to take a great leap forward. It wanted

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to help them organize their life on the new principles of modern technique which was to serve not the interests of the private owner but the interests of the whole of society.

The whole capitalist world was convinced that the fight for the collectivization of peasant farming would end in defeat for the Bolsheviks. The kulak, too, was convinced of this, and so also was the urban petty bourgeoisie. It was on this expectation that the interventionists built their plans. But Stalin's calculations on the victory of the collective farms were as exact as a geometrical figure. These calculations were based on the growing strength of the victorious proletariat which was the driving force in the development of the country. Relying on the strength of the proletariat and on the support of the peasant masses, the Soviet government hurled itself upon the kulaks and showed this strong self-assured class that the proletariat was not afraid to liquidate it. Stalin's calculations were based on the appeal to the common sense of the peasants as toilers as against their kulak prejudices. The peasant could not but

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understand that the tractor and the combine were stronger than his emaciated peasant nag; the peasant could not but become convinced that agronomic science was useful for him. Stalin's calculations were based on the power of organization, a power which was not directed against the interests of millions of poor and middle peasants as was the case in capitalist countries, but which defended the interests of these tens of millions of toilers, and which was to bring them a prosperous cultural life. Finally, Stalin's calculations were based on the ability of the Bolshevik Party to manoeuvre on the extensive fields of the Soviet Union.

And Stalin's calculations turned out to be right in every particular. Relying on the powerful growth of industry, on the growing activity of the masses of the rural poor, the Party, after smashing the Right wing defeatists led by Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky, began its attack on the capitalist elements in the rural districts on a wide front under the leadership of Stalin. The whole of the countryside was roused and swept up in a wave

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of agitation unprecedented in history. With the combined tactics of appealing to the common sense of the poor and middle peasants and of striking hard at the kulak, socialism achieved its first world victory in the rural districts. The majority of the peasant households were organized in collective farms. But the novelty of the work led to mistakes in carrying out the strategic plan. Forgetting what Lenin and Stalin taught, *viz.*, that while the collective farm was a socialist form of organization of labour, it was nevertheless a transitional form, that it did not mean the socialization of all the means of production, but only the principal means of production, a large number of organizers of collective farms exceeded the limits of what was possible and useful at that stage, and thus caused considerable discontent among the masses of the peasantry. The leader of the proletariat who had pondered deeply, not only over the nature of the petty bourgeois strata, but also over questions of class strategy, restrained the disorderly forward rush, called a halt to the mistakes that arose from being "dizzy

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with success," and called for an advance based on convincing the peasant masses of the usefulness of collective farms and on an understanding of the nature of collective farming.

The victory of the idea of collectivization was so immense that notwithstanding the recession of the collective farm wave which occurred as a result of the mistakes that were committed, the achievements of socialism in agriculture far exceeded the anticipations of the first Five-Year Plan. A second socialist offensive against the capitalist elements in the rural districts commenced. The newly built Soviet factories turned out an increasing quantity of agricultural machines, and year after year machinery—the product of the socialist factories, the product of the workers' hands—moved forward to first place among the productive forces of the countryside. The country was covered with a network of machine and tractor stations, which were centres for providing technical aid to the countryside; they were schools of technology in the rural districts. The capitalist elements in the rural districts, although defeated, were not utterly

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routed, and did not give up the struggle. Appealing to the greedy bourgeois instincts of the small property owner, taking advantage of the difficulties connected with the mastery of new technique in order to sow disbelief in its power, they tried to undermine the collective farms, to plunder the product of their labour, to create food difficulties. They caused the wavering elements in the collective farms to believe that by the process of quiet sapping, red tape, and passive resistance, it would be possible to compel the Bolsheviki to abandon the effort to collective agriculture.

When these difficulties arose the defeated Right wing elements again began to whisper: "Is it not time to retreat?" But the kulaks and their Right wing agents were mistaken. The Leninist leadership under Stalin's guidance displayed the same main features of Marxist-Leninist strategy as we saw in the first political steps that Stalin took, *viz.*, having selected the proper road, they proceeded along that road in spite of all difficulties. Already in 1930, Stalin succeeded in getting the Party to rectify the mistakes committed

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by those who had become "dizzy with success" and to keep within the proper limits of the plan of the offensive. And in 1932 he ruthlessly repelled the attempts to surrender the properly occupied positions; and in order to reinforce this front, the Party established political departments at machine and tractor stations and in Soviet farms, and appointed to these tens of thousands of steadfast and tried Communists to guide the political struggle for the collective farms and to help the organization of labour in them.

The sowing and harvest seasons of 1933 provided the world with the second victory of socialism in the rural districts. They showed that the bulk of the collective farmers had become convinced that the collective farms had come to stay, that they were to the advantage of the peasants and that they opened the way to prosperity. This does not mean that from that moment all difficulties in the countryside disappeared. It was only after several years of improvement in the organization of labour in the collective farms, after the masses of the collective farmers had mas-

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tered the use of the new machine technique, after several years of growth of socialist culture in the rural districts and the growth of prosperity of the peasant masses that socialism achieved its final victory in the minds of the whole of the peasantry. But the Rubicon was crossed in 1933.

THE DEFENCE OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The years in which victory over the last broad strata of the bourgeoisie in the U.S.S.R. was achieved, in which a gigantic socialist industry was created, in which the proletariat was able with the aid of tractors and combines to turn the peasantry through the collective farms onto the road of socialism, in which, in a word, the foundations of classless socialist society were laid down, were very tense years indeed. In order to perform in five years what requires fifty years to accomplish, the masses of the people had to perform feats unprecedented up to that time. The rates of growth and the intensity of the Five-Year Plan were not arbitrarily selected by Stalin. The stern commands issued from the captain's

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bridge by the navigator of the revolution, the orders to keep the boilers constantly under steam, the strict orders that no one was to leave their posts of command, the sleepless nights at General Headquarters—all this was the result of the far-sightedness of the leader of the revolution and of his immediate comrades-in-arms.

By laying the foundations of socialism, the U.S.S.R. struck a fatal blow to the capitalist world, which was experiencing a profound crisis. To the oppressed masses this world presented a picture of increasing decay. Not only was it unable to find scope for the new productive forces which found their expression in the tremendous progress of technique, but it doomed tens of millions of industrial workers and hundreds of millions of ruined peasants to unemployment and starvation. This world continued to exist simply because the backward masses who were browbeaten by terror and corrupted by Social-Democracy, had no confidence in their own strength.

Every brick that was placed in the foundations of socialism, every new yard of wall of

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the edifice of socialism that rose up, shook the disbelief in the creative powers of the proletariat that was at the bottom of the impotence of our western brothers. Stalin and the Central Committee of the Party knew that the world bourgeoisie would not permit them quietly to complete the edifice of socialism because that would have accelerated the inevitable socialist revolution in the capitalist countries and given wings to the struggle of the colonial masses for liberation.

The Republic of Labour was in the position of a detachment of troops which had got to the edge of a wood and saw the machine-guns of the enemy on its boundaries. It was necessary either to retreat or rush across the danger zone and capture the machine-guns by storm. Every new metallurgical and chemical works, every new strengthened collective farm, reinforced the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. for the battles which the enemy might force upon it. The enemy was actively preparing for these battles. The years after the death of Lenin were years of the furious arming of capitalism. Not satisfied with tanks, bombing

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planes and poison gas, the bourgeoisie donned the armour of fascism for the struggle against the revolutionary proletariat, the fortress of which was the U.S.S.R. And the guides of the revolution, and its leader Stalin, were confronted with the task of equipping the builders of socialism for defence.

This task was fulfilled in the years of the first Five-Year Plan. Socialism acquired wings. In the course of a few years the proletariat out of nothing built huge metallurgical works and one of the best aerial fleets in the world. When on May 1, 1932, hundreds of aeroplanes soared over the Red Square and blotted out the sun, in the roar of their engines one seemed to hear the refrain of Lenin's favourite song: "Communards never, never shall be slaves."

When on May 1, 1933, the Red Square re-echoed with the rumbling of hundreds of heavy tanks and heavy artillery, the world understood the words of Stalin: "There are no fortresses that the Bolsheviks cannot take."

And when, simultaneously, the Soviet Union expressed its readiness for complete disarmament and called upon the whole capitalist

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world to do the same, that world knew that Soviet diplomacy expressed a power that did not need war, that wanted by the example of great victories of emancipated labour to emancipate humanity—but that would conquer in any war that would be thrust upon it.

On Lenin's Mausoleum, surrounded by his immediate comrades-in-arms—Molotov, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, Kalinin and Orjonikidze—stood Stalin in a grey soldier's great-coat. Calm and thoughtful, he gazed at the hundreds of thousands of proletarians marching past Lenin's tomb with the firm step of the shock troops of the future conquerors of the capitalist world. He knew that he had fulfilled the vow he had uttered ten years before at Lenin's grave: and all the toilers of the U.S.S.R. and the world revolutionary proletariat knew this too.

And towards the compact, calm figure of our leader Stalin, there rolled a wave of love and confidence of the masses marching by, in the firm conviction that there, on Lenin's tomb, were gathered the General Staff of the future victorious world revolution.

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